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health of the people be thereby improved. The major portion of any appropriation that may be made will certainly be swallowed up in meeting the cost of doing ill that which should not be done at all. The true path of advance in education is to be found in the direction of keeping the people's schools closely in touch with the people themselves. Bureaucrats and experts will speedily take the life out of even the best schools and reduce them to dried and mounted specimens of pedagogic fatuity. Unless the school is both the work and the pride of the community which it serves, it is nothing. A school system that grows naturally in response to the needs and ambitions of a hundred thousand different localities, will be a better school system than any which can be imposed upon those localities by the aid of grants of public money from the federal treasury, accompanied by federal regulations, federal inspections, federal reports and federal uniformities.

It took a good deal of courage, even for the President of Columbia University, to write and publish the foregoing words. There are hosts of persons who will assail him vigorously for them—hosts interested, in some instances at least, selfishly, in the establishment of the very thing Dr. Butler condemns. THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY heartily thanks him for saying what it would have liked to say itself, and for saying it with vastly more weight.

On pages 23-35 Dr. Butler discusses Waste in Education. He begins by calling attention to his discussion, in his Annual Report for 1920, pages 16-23, of the widespread public criticism of present-day education and the probable grounds for it.

... During the year the evidences of widespread dissatisfaction with education as now organized and conducted have multiplied with some rapidity. The English people, with that sagacity and serious purpose that so characterize their action in the presence of any practical problem, have completed and made public a series of reports on the main groups of subjects of modern instruction which are in the highest degree significant. These reports deal with the ancient classics¹, with the English language and literature, with the natural sciences and with the modern languages. Nothing so complete, so well ordered, or so admirable has yet been done in any other land. At the same time the French, greatly disturbed by the practical results which have followed the important changes that were introduced into the program of secondary instruction twenty years ago, are giving sympathetic attention to the proposals of M. Léon Bérard, Minister of Public Instruction, which in effect call for a repudiation of the principles and policies that underlay the so-called reforms of 1902, and for a return to the far sounder program of secondary education that had previously existed²: What the

French in 1902 called reforms were those backward steps that are taken at intervals in the history of education by which an early differentiation and specialization of studies were insisted upon, with a view not to the general training of youth, but to fit individuals for specific careers. After twenty years the results of this policy are so unhappy and so unsatisfactory that the wisest leaders of French public opinion are demanding a return to sound and well-tested educational principle. M. Bérard, together with M. Appell, the distinguished Rector of the University of Paris, is pointing out that a wrong turn of the road was taken in 1902, and that the true mission of secondary education is to develop young men and young women of trained minds capable of adapting themselves to the varying requirements of social life without any immediate attention to the special career which they may elect to follow. This is sound doctrine and France will do well to heed its preaching. It is worth noting that the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons, a body of severely practical men of affairs, has recorded an expression of its opinion that the results of the present program of secondary instruction are regrettable. This body of men of industry and finance expressly criticise the abandonment of Latin and Greek, and the doing away with those substantial courses of instruction which at one time did so much to develop character and personality.

Similar and very striking testimony was given by the accredited representatives of the Labor Party before the English Committee to inquire into the position of classics in the educational system of the United Kingdom. These witnesses told the Committee that the Labor Party was seriously concerned with the fact that in industrial districts education is too much limited to utilitarian subjects, that there is lack of opportunity for children of the working classes to get a classical education by which many of them are well suited to benefit, and that it is important to provide a sufficient number of secondary schools to offer instruction and training of this type. These are the answers of practical experience and practical men to the unhappy theorizing of recent years, which has played so large a part in breaking down the effectiveness of the work of the schools and colleges, not alone in one land but in many lands. The time has come to call a halt, and to offer the youth of the next generation bread and not a stone.

If the illustrations of the waste and ineffectiveness of present-day education were drawn from American experience alone the response of the claue would quickly be that the observer was either a cynic or a pessimist, or both. The fact is, however, that both in England and in France, as well as in the United States, the evidence is both cumulative and overwhelming. . . . If, then, the educational disease be diagnosed as one of waste and superficiality, what is the cure? The answer is that the cure is to be found in a broader scholarship; in a deeper and sounder study of the process of education, its history and its aims; in a clearer comprehension of its philosophic foundation; and in a better understanding of its interrelations with the changing social, economic and intellectual life of man.

(To be continued)

C. K.

SOME VERGILIAN PROBLEMS AND RECENT VERGILIAN LITERATURE CIRCA 1896-1920

A presentation of Vergilian problems and a discussion of Vergilian literature of the past twenty-five years might easily lead to lengths not within the limits of sobriety or discretion. My *finis ad quem* will be as concise a statement as possible of the results of Vergilian scholarship and of the present status of

¹This topic was discussed by Mr. Paul Van Dyke, under the Caption Back to the Classics, in The New York Times, November 27, 1921.

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²President Butler has in mind Reports made by various Committees appointed by the British Prime Minister to consider the position of certain subjects—Classics, English Language and Literature, Modern Languages, and Natural Science—in the educational system of the United Kingdom. The four reports may be obtained, at two shillings or so each, from His Majesty's Stationery Office, Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2, or 28 Abingdon Street, London 8, W. 1, or through the booksellers in general.

On the Report concerning English and English Literature, Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, of the University of London, writes most interestingly in the Atlantic Monthly, January (120, 55-67). The Report on the Classics is a pamphlet of 308 pages. To this Report reference has been made in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.144, 15.8.1 purpose to discuss it presently in these columns. Meantime, those who have ready access to The Classical Review may consult the numbers for August-September and November-December, 1921. In the former (25.86-91) Professor J. W. Mackail gives a summary of the Report; in the latter there is an editorial, giving, with little comment, Classical Opinion on the Report of the Prime Minister's Committee (25.135-139).

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its larger problems and an estimate of significant works wherever they have appeared. No apology will be needed for the omission of many papers and studies, since this article does not aim at an exhaustive statement, but rather endeavors to put the teacher in intelligent touch with the literature and the leading aspects of the subject. I have all the while had in mind the needs of teachers of Vergil who may not have access to a wide bibliography and for many of whom the School edition² may be the main or even the only source of information. I hope that the result may be an encouragement to proceed deeper into Vergilian studies, with a consequent enrichment of the teaching of the author who must remain in the High School curriculum, whatever the fate of the other two members of the great triumvirate may be, if the teaching of Latin is to retain true nobility. It is well to remember an ancient *testimonium laudis*, recorded by Pliny, Epp. 3. 7.8, of the attitude of the poet Silius Italicus toward Vergil:

multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, verum etiam venerabatur, Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire ut templum solebat.

I shall now discuss, in such detail as the space at command makes possible, a considerable number of books and articles dealing with Vergil. To others reference will be made in footnotes. In the present disturbed condition of the book-trade, it does not seem wise to cite prices.

Glover, T. R.: *Virgil*³. London: Methuen and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company (1912). Pp. xvii + 343.

Mr. Glover's great book is one of those landmarks of literary and historical criticism that appear at intervals in the history of the study of our classical authors and which at once become indispensable. It is a true product of what we have come to recognize as the best English traditions in scholarship, in which wisdom is blended with fine expression, and there is scarce a page which does not carry its suggestive inspiration. The author's generous tribute to Conington (ix), "whose work remains a monument of a great victory won long since for the cause of Liberalism in education", applies with no less truth to his own

book, which, however, clearly reveals the continued need of literary study of the Classics if that vaunted victory is to remain a reality. We are continually reminded of French fineness and penetration, and we are aware of Mr. Glover's sympathy with Boissier, Sainte-Beuve, and Patin⁴, whose methods capture American imagination without having as yet influenced our thought profoundly. It is with one of his intuitive flashes of genius that Sainte-Beuve remarks (quoted by Mr. Glover, ix), "The Gauls . . . early found their way to the Capitol". Since that ancient day French imagination has long since capitulated to the charms of the captive mistress and entered into the inner meaning of the things Roman, with an appreciation that few others can equal. But Aeneas has rarely been analyzed with finer feeling than by Mr. Glover, whose phrases remain in memory. That virtue is its own reward is combated with the brilliant rejoinder (325) that this is "the most discouraging platitude which ever disguised the feeling that virtue has no reward at all". For exaltation and literary appreciation we should drink deep of this fountain.

Duff, J. Wight: *A Literary History of Rome*⁵. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons (1910). Pp. xvi + 695.

Professor Duff's chapters on Vergil (432-482, 483-495) combine the quality of Teuffel, whom he characterizes as a "quarry of reference", with that of Pichon, who is "frequently suggestive" to him. Our scholarship will never rise to high levels unless, as here, historical methods are combined with the humanistic attitude, through which sympathy and taste irradiate a fine glow. Who would not turn with added zest to a reading of the Eclogues and of the Georgics, with this stimulating byplay of interpretation (444): "In the Eclogues there is a sense of nature's witchery; in the Georgics, a Lucretian sense of nature's stubbornness". We are apt to miss the beauty of the Eclogues unless we realize that Vergil's Arcady was concerned with "Sicilian and Italian landscapes interchanged with a dream-like inconsistency" (442). The toyland of the Eclogues, with its masquerade of conventionalities, is all too little known, while for the present age the Georgics have an especial message, with their chant of the worth of work. One recalls the names of Julia Wedgwood, Shairst, Myers, Garrod⁶, authors tutored in the school of literary criticism of which Glover and Duff are such eloquent exponents.

We are heavily indebted to the prodigious work of Martin Schanz⁷ for its amazing collections of titles

¹Professor Hadzsits prefers to write 'Virgil', 'Virgilian'; he refers to a paper by Professor F. W. Kelsey, *Virgil or Vergil*, *The Nation*, September 5, 1907 (pages 206-207). For reasons set forth by Professor Lodge in a discussion of that paper, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 1. 49, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* spells Vergil with an *e*.

²Since the days of Heyne, Wagner, and Conington, many School editions of Vergil have appeared, some of which ought to be mentioned here: Papillon, J. L., and Haigh, A. E. (Oxford University Press, 1892); Greenough, J. B., and Kittredge, G. L. (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1902); Frieze, H. S., revised by Dennison, W. (American Book Company, 1902); Knapp, Charles (Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, 1901); Bennett, C. E. (Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1904); Page, T. E. (Macmillan Company, 1913-1914); Burton, H. E. (Silver, Burdett, and Company, Boston, 1919); see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13. 47-48.—Of critical text editions, mention should be made of Ribbeck, O. (Teubner, Leipzig, 1894), and Hirtzel, F. A. (Oxford Classical Text Series, 1900). That brilliant book, P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis, Buch VI², *Erklärt von Eduard Norden* (Teubner, Leipzig, 1916), deserves special attention; no student who seeks fuller knowledge of the moral earnestness and the religious awe of Book 6 can afford to neglect it (for a review of the first edition, by Professor Knapp, see *American Journal of Philology* 27.70-83).

³Boissier, Gaston: *Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques. Horace et Virgile*⁸ (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1913). A translation of an earlier edition, by D. H. Fisher, was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons (1896).—Sainte-Beuve, C. A.: *Étude sur Virgile*⁹ (Michel Lévy, Paris, 1870).—Patin, H. J.: *Études sur la Poésie Latine* (Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1868-1869).

⁴Wedgwood, Julia: *Virgil, in the Contemporary Review*, 1877.—Shairst, J. C.: *Aspects of Poetry* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891). This book contains a chapter on Vergil as a Religious Poet.—Myers, F. W. H.: *Essays Classica* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1883; new edition, 1908). See the essay, Vergil (106-176).—Garrod, H. W.: *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse* (1912), Introduction.—Especially mention should be made of an article of fine literary quality, *Virgil: An Interpretation*, by Professor M. S. Slaughter, *The Classical Journal* 12. 359-377 (March, 1917).

and incomparable summaries and analyses of criticisms of every aspect of Vergil's work and of the history of Vergilian studies. A veritable labyrinth of journal literature opens before the amazed mind of the uninitiated. Only second in importance to this massive *repertorium* is the work of Teuffel⁵. Both books constitute excellent examples of Teutonic thoroughness. Recent habits of criticism will, in the end, reform and will recognize the fundamental value of such wisdom and industry, but for immediate needs, however, other histories of literature are far more apt to win adoption. Upon the teacher's desk there should be a few histories of Latin literature⁶, which might lead to a profitable inquiry into questions of date of composition, style, language, religion, philosophy, or history. Knowledge, for example, of the order of composition^{6a} of the books of the Aeneid might logically lead to a wise postponement of the reading of Book 1, at least until after completion of Books 2 and 4, with much gain in clarity for the student. Sellar, Tyrrell, and Mackail will long continue to charm the imagination of readers, and acquaintance with their outlook is apt to prove a revelation to the average American student. Through the medium of the American Seminar, the distinctive qualities of German scholarship may some day merge with the distinction of French and English research and result in a new type of American interpretation, superior to both.

Virgil's Messianic Eclogue. Its Meaning, Occasion and Sources. Three Studies. By Mayor, Joseph B.; Fowler, W. Warde; and Conway, R. S. London: John Murray (1907). Pp. xi + 146.

These three essays will remain a reference work for all future students of this highly complex composition, and it may be well to state their conclusions somewhat fully. We all know that the extraordinary similarity of the language of this Eclogue to that of Isaiah was long ago responsible for acceptance of the Eclogue as a prophecy of the advent of Christianity. It is easy to believe that much of the imagery is traceable to Jewish ideas, which spread considerably in Italy in the latter half of the first century. B. C. Professor Conway's essay shows with clarity and distinction the Messianic ideas that appear in all the Vergilian writings, which may be catalogued as follows: recognition of the guilt of mankind, a hope in a special deliverer to be sent by Providence, and the need of a new spirit and a more humane ideal. This larger background constitutes the true indictment of the first century B. C. and more profoundly voices the poet's hope of a Golden Age of Justice.

⁵Schanz, Martin: *Geschichte Der Römischen Literatur* (C. H. Beck, Munich, 1911). This is Volume VIII, II, 1 of Miller, *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (pages 32-133).—Teuffel, W. S.: *Geschichte Der Römischen Literatur*, Zweiter Band⁶ (Teubner, Leipzig, 1910). A seventh edition is in progress of publication). See pages 23-49.

⁶Sellar, W. Y.: *The Poets of the Augustan Age. Virgil*¹ (Oxford University Press, 1897).—Tyrrell, R. Y.: *Latin Poetry* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1895).—Middleton, George, and Mills, T. R.: *The Student's Companion to Latin Authors* (Macmillan, 1896).—Mackail, T. W.: *Latin Literature* (Scribner, 1904).—Fowler, H. N.: *A History of Roman Literature* (Appleton, 1905).—Dimsdale, M. S.: *A History of Latin Literature* (Appleton, 1915).

^{6a}Compare e. g. Crump, M. Marjorie: *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1920).

Dr. Fowler's essay is a masterly analysis of all of the evidence bearing upon the question of the identity of the child of the poem. The earlier theory of Ramsay⁷ is refuted, that the child is after all a mere abstraction standing for an idealized generation of Romans of the future. There follows a detailed examination of Reinach's⁸ elaborate and recondite hypothesis that this child is a new Dionysus, son of Jupiter. Dr. Fowler is far more sane, and establishes, quite certainly, the significance of the last four lines, which serve as a "touchstone to distinguish false criticism from true". The importance of the Danielian additions to Servius's notes on this passage is too great to be overlooked, for they bring us back to the realism of the close of the poem and help to determine the personality of the child as Octavian's⁹. Asconius's well-known tale, in Servius's notes, does not merit serious consideration, and Dr. Fowler holds the view of present Vergilian criticism, that a greater than Pollio's son is here immortalized. The mystery of it all vanishes if we but credit Vergil with the simplicity that was his, and recognize the obscurity of the poem as due to extraneous circumstances. As Mackail well says (*Latin Literature*, 94), the Sibylline verses are "but the accidental grain of dust round which the crystallization of the poem began".

Professor Mayor's brilliant essay is concerned with the sources of Vergil's extraordinary language, in this Eclogue, the real mystery of the poem. This essay completes a remarkable trilogy of Vergilian studies, and provides an illuminating investigation concerning the identity of the Sibylline song to which Vergil alludes, in foretelling the coming age of virtue and happiness. While this cannot be determined exactly from our knowledge of extant Sibylline oracles, because the present oracles are only a small portion of the original number, the Hebraic tone is too pronounced to be gainsayed. "Vergil must have had before him if not an actual translation from Isaiah, at least some closer paraphrase of Messianic prophecy than we now possess". In any case, it was not the Greek or the Roman habit to predicate man's true perfection of the future¹⁰; but, recognizing the

⁷Ramsay, W. M.: *The Divine Child in Virgil* (Expositor, 1907, June and August, pages 551-564, 97-111).

⁸Reinach, S.: *L'Orphisme Dans La IVe Eclogue De Virgile* (in *Revue de L'Histoire Des Religions*, L [1909], 395-383).

⁹In an interesting article, entitled *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio*, An Afterword, in *Classical Philology* 6 (1911), 78-84, Professor J. E. Church, Jr., reviews the ancient literature on the subject "to show that the Romans did not consider it contrary to their canons of taste to 'prophecy' the sex of an unborn child". Compare also, by the same author, *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio*, in *The University of Nevada Studies*, 1 (No. 2, 1908); and Slater, D. A., *Was the Fourth Eclogue Written to Celebrate the Marriage of Octavia to Mark Antony?* A Literary Parallel, in *The Classical Review* 22 (1912), 114-119.—In *The Classical Review* 22 (1908), 149-151, Garrod, H. W., in a paper entitled *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, advances the hypothesis that the child is the child of Augustus's sister, Octavia, and Marcellus, though born after her marriage to Antony.

¹⁰For further study of this problem, see the extremely interesting articles by Norlin, George, *Ethnology and The Golden Age*, *Classical Philology* 12 (1917), 351-364, and Smith, Kirby Flower, *Ages of the World*, in *Hastings's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1, 198. It is worth while to quote Professor Norlin's words: "The poetic fancy of Milton and Vergil and Shelly that the Golden Age will be restored is a Stoic hope." Compare, also, Hardie, W. R., *Lectures on Classical Subjects* (Macmillan Company, 1903): Chapter 4, *The Age of Gold*, is an interesting, though not convincing, review of the ancient literature, brought into association with Vergil's Eclogue.

influence of Jewish writers on this phase of Vergil's thought, Mayor does not feel that this excludes recognition, also, of the social and religious influences of his own time and country, as contributing to the phenomenon of this literary enigma. Professor Garrod¹¹ attacks Mayor's paper on the literary sources of the Eclogue as being "more impressive than convincing", for championing the old Sibylline-oracle-theory and tying Vergil down to one set of influences. In an earlier essay, Professor Garrod had noticed that certain of Pollio's relatives were Jews, and thus argued that Vergil owes something in the Fourth Eclogue to Pollio and to Pollio's own verses. In answering this criticism Mayor¹² does not abandon his position, but, again analyzing extant Sibylline oracles, agrees that Pollio's relationship with the Jews suggests a way in which Vergil may have made acquaintance not only with a Sibylline paraphrase of Isaiah, but even with an actual volume of the Old Testament. Another interesting suggestion¹³, that the seventeenth Idyl of Theocritus was Vergil's inspiration, has been advanced, by which it would appear that Theocritus probably knew the Septuagint and that he served as mediator for Vergil in respect both to matter and style. Ramsay had thought that Vergil must have known a Greek translation of Isaiah, and more recently Professor DeWitt¹⁴ brilliantly argues for the same belief. The Fourth Eclogue owes its significance to the revelation it furnishes us of Vergil himself, who, solitary as Marcus Aurelius, not only through the medium of this brief song, but even more so in the Aeneid, which is "the Messianic Eclogue drawn on a large scale", rises far above Roman limitations of thought and feeling, as father of Romanticism and unconscious prophet of the Gentiles¹⁵.

In the well-known life of Vergil usually attributed to Donatus¹⁶, Vergil is credited with the composition of the following poems: Catalepton, Priapus, Epigrammata, Dirae, Ciris, Culex, Aetna. Servius adds the Copa. The Appendix Vergiliana of the Oxford

text¹⁷ does not include the Aetna, which few scholars now believe to be of Vergil's own composition, but adds, along with other verses, the Moretum, although there is no external evidence for it. An enormous body of literature has developed, concerned with the critical study of these minor poems, in order to establish their authorship. I shall endeavor to point out the variety of opinions that are held and also suggest agreements that are being reached. Mackail¹⁸, for example, holds that a greater or less amount of *prima facie* plausibility exists in favor of the genuineness of the Culex, the Ciris, and the Moretum, and that the Ciris was composed during the time of the Eclogues, but that the Culex and the Moretum belong to the period of the Georgics. The Ciris contains phrases and metrical movements unmistakably like those of Catullus, but also has distinct Lucretian elements. After the first fifty lines it becomes Vergilian. Leo's¹⁹ theory is that the Ciris was written by a gifted versifier to whom Vergil's poems were known. Franz Skutsch²⁰ contends that the Ciris could not have been written after the appearance of Vergil as a literary force, but that Gallus was the author of the Ciris, and that Vergil drew from this poem later for the Eclogues, the Georgics, and the Aeneid. Professor Duff inclines to this theory, as does W. R. Hardie²¹, with certain modifications, to the effect that

Vergil cooperated with Gallus in writing the Ciris and contributed a number of lines to it. If that was so, it is easy to see how the piece would come to be included in a collection of his youthful poems; and he would have no scruple about using, again, lines from the Ciris if he wrote them, or helped to write them, himself.

Mr. Hardie very successfully argues for the priority of the Ciris, but also humorously and sharply discusses the dangers and difficulties attending the criticism of borrowed lines. Mackail, in the article referred to above, grants high praise to the constructive nature of Skutsch's work, and confidently asserts that the Ciris was written when Vergil and Gallus as young poets were living in closest intimacy²².

We have the express testimony of Martial²³, Suetonius, and Statius that a poem by Vergil, with the

¹¹Garrod, H. W.: Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, The Classical Review 22 (1908), 149-151.

¹²Mayor, J. B.: Further Notes on the Fourth Eclogue, The Classical Review 22 (1908), 140-144.

¹³Kerlin, Robert T.: Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: An Overlooked Source, American Journal of Philology 29 (1908), 449-460.

¹⁴DeWitt, N. W.: Virgil and Apocalyptic Literature, The Classical Journal 13 (1918), 600-606. Compare, also, Carus, Paul: Virgil's Prophecy on the Saviour's Birth. The Fourth Eclogue (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1918): a very suggestive essay precedes a translation of the Eclogue.

¹⁵The lay reader will find Royds, T. F., Virgil and Isaiah, A Study of the Pollio (Oxford, Blackwell; Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1918. Pp. 122), useful and interesting. It adds nothing to our knowledge, but affords a convenient statement of previous conclusions. That "Vergil did not foresee the birth of Christ nor forecast the theology of the Incarnation" is a Churchman's statement that deserves comparison with the ancient views of Constantine and Saint Augustine. Two translations of the Fourth Eclogue, one translation in hexameter, the other in Biblical English, appear in this volume (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12, 165-166).

¹⁶Nettleship, H.: Ancient Lives of Vergil, With an Essay on the Poems of Vergil (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1879 Pp. 70). On page 29, Nettleship argues for the Suetonian authorship of the life of Vergil, assigned to Donatus. Compare, also, E. K. Rand, Is Donatus's Commentary on Vergil Lost? The Classical Quarterly 10 (1916), 158-164.

To be noted also are Brummer, I.: Vitae Vergilianae (Teubner-Leipzig, 1912), and Diehl, E.: Die Vitae Vergilianae Und Ihre Antiken Quellen (Marcus u. Weber, Bonn, 1911).

¹⁷The Oxford text proper is entitled P. Vergili Maronis Opera, Edited by F. A. Hirtzel (1900). For the Appendix, see Appendix Vergiliana, Sive Carmina Minora Vergilio Adtributa, Edited by R. Ellis (Oxford, 1907). Compare, also, Appendix Vergiliana, edited by F. Vollmer (Teubner, Leipzig, 1910).

¹⁸Mackail, J. W.: Virgil and Virgilianism, A Study of the Minor Poems Attributed to Virgil, The Classical Review 22 (1908), 65-73.

¹⁹Leo, Friedrich: Nochmals Die Ciris Und Vergil, Hermes 42 (1907), 35-77; Vergil Und Die Ciris, Hermes 37 (1902), 14-55.

²⁰Skutsch, Franz: Aus Vergils Frühzeit (Teubner, Leipzig, 1901); Gallus Und Vergil (1906).

²¹Hardie, W. R.: On Some Non-Metrical Arguments Bearing on the Date of the Ciris, The <English> Journal of Philology 30 (1907), 280-289.

²²Since the days of Schanz² (1899), the number of those arguing for the Vergilian authorship of the minor poems has been on the increase. Compare e. g. Rand, E. K.: Young Virgil's Poetry, Harvard Studies 30 (1919), 103-187; Frank, Tenney: Vergil's Apprenticeship, II, Classical Philology 15 (1920), 103-106. Professor Frank comes to the conclusion that 45-43 B. C. is the period of composition of the Ciris. For a divergent view, see Crittenden, A. R.: The Sentence Structure of Virgil (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1911).

²³Miss S. Elizabeth Jackson comes to the conclusion that Vergil was merely reusing what was his own, when borrowing from the Culex; see her paper, The Authorship of the Culex, The Classical Quarterly 5 (1911), 163-174. Compare, also, Frank, Tenney: Vergil's Apprenticeship, I, Classical Philology 15 (1920), 23-38; he favors 48 B. C. as the date of composition.

title *Culex*, was extant, and there is no ground for supposing the that *Culex* we know is a different poem. The *Moretum* has been praised for its "luminous silvery color" and has been compared to the early pieces of Rafael for its suavity and grace. It was closely modeled on a Greek idyl by Parthenius, who had Gallus as his patron and pupil. Vergil's *Gnat*, i. e. the *Culex*, was paraphrased by Spenser, and the *Salad*, i. e. the *Moretum*, was done long ago by Cowper, but teachers will also be interested in the text and translation of more recent date, prepared by Joseph J. Mooney²⁴, for the translation is excellent and to each poem there is a brief and scholarly Introduction. Unfortunately, the *Ciris* is not included²⁵.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS
(To be concluded)

REVIEW

Schools of Gaul: A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire. By Theodore Haarhoff, Lecturer in Latin at the University of Cape Town. Oxford University Press (1920). Pp. xii + 272.

This interesting essay deals with a subject that "has curiously escaped the makers of books" (Preface, vii)—education in Gaul during the fourth and fifth centuries of our era or, more precisely, from the defeat of the Franks by Julian, in 358, to their rise under Chlodowig, in 486. This subject involves an age (as the author points out, vii), like our own, of transition; a country facing the problem of complex nationality and further harassed by the menace of 'Bolshevism'; a topic of especial interest to one of the author's nationality because of the analogy between the teaching of Greek in Roman Gaul and the position of the language of Holland in South Africa to-day—the question of the proper handling of 'the second language'.

Part I, Introductory (1–38), after defining the limits of the period, discusses the Greek influence on Gallic culture (Massilia: 4–10), the Celtic influence (the Druids: 10–19), and the Germanic influence (19–26); deals with the Romanization of Gaul (as evidenced most impressively by the extant architectural remains: 26–33); and concludes with an estimate of the general trend of Roman education in Gaul before the fourth century A. D. (The Wandering Sophist; The Power of the Christian Religion; Autun, the Latin University of Gaul: 33–38).

Part II (39–150) deals with Pagan Education. After an exposition (39–52) of The General Prosperity of the Schools during the period in question and a list of the principal centers of Gallic culture (Bordeaux; Trèves, etc.), the subject is presented in great detail under two subheads, Inside the School

(52–118), and Outside the School (119–150). This section of the work is—perhaps inevitably—the most technical, and we are here reminded of the statement made in the Preface (x) that the essay was originally "put forward as a thesis at Oxford". The topic Inside the School includes a full discussion of The Substance and the Methods of Primary Education (52–68: "the characteristic thing about the grammarian's school was exposition and interpretation, and the immediate end in view was encyclopedic knowledge" [68]); The Substance and Methods of Secondary Education (68–93: "discussion and declamation, . . . the end in view was oratory or oratorical composition" [68]); and of the Control and Arrangement of the School (93–118)—questions of discipline, play, and organization. Under the topic Outside the School, a compact summary (119–124) of the Imperial organization and of the society in which the School flourished is followed by a discussion of Class Distinction and Education (124–132: ". . . as we go down the social scale, it is only the exceptions who go beyond the grammarian, while the majority probably knew none but the elementary master" [132]), by an estimate of the teacher's place in society (132–135: high in social and professional world; in the intellectual world considerably lower), and, finally, by a discussion of the benefits and the disadvantages of Imperial protection (135–150: centralization; moulding of public opinion through the panegyrics which were part of the teachers' duties; overinterference in education; ". . . the support of education was due partly to a real enthusiasm for letters, and partly to that policy which sought to gain the goodwill of the provincial youth . . ." [150]).

In what is one of the most delightful chapters of the book (Part III, 151–197) Christian Education is next portrayed. Attention is called to the fact that "The Church did not create a new educational system" (162). The persistence of rhetoric and a later reach in the direction of simplicity (*rusticitas*) are notable characteristics; however, the ultimate attitude of the Church in saving pagan culture "is the determining factor of Christian education, and it forms the background without which that education cannot be rightly studied" (174). In discussing the rise of Christian Schools in Gaul (175–180), the author calls particular attention to the Catechumen Schools which were the forerunners of the Cathedral Schools; the Episcopal School at Arles; the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles; and the older monastery of Lerins. Then follows an interesting account of The Practice of Christian Education (180–197). On page 196 the author sums up thus:

Thus in its development of elementary education, in its 'rusticitas', in its greater concentration on thought, and in its emphasis on practical work, Christian education in fifth-century Gaul was in reaction against the brilliant but superficial schools of the previous century.

After this separate treatment of Pagan Education and Christian Education, the author proceeds, in Part IV (198–239) to discuss certain Educational

²⁴Mooney, Joseph J.: The Minor Poems of Vergil. A Metrical Translation (Birmingham, Cornish Brothers, 1916. Pp. 117).

²⁵I have not, for lack of space, discussed all the minor poems, but I could ill afford not to mention the annotated edition of the *Catalepton* by Birt, which is itself a classic: Birt, Theodor: *Jugendverse Und Heimatpoesie Vergils. Erklärung des Catalepton* (Teubner, Leipzig, 1910. Pp. 198). Professor Tenney Frank defends the ninth *Catalepton* as Vergil's; see Vergil's Apprenticeship, I, *Classical Philology* 15 (1920), 23–38.